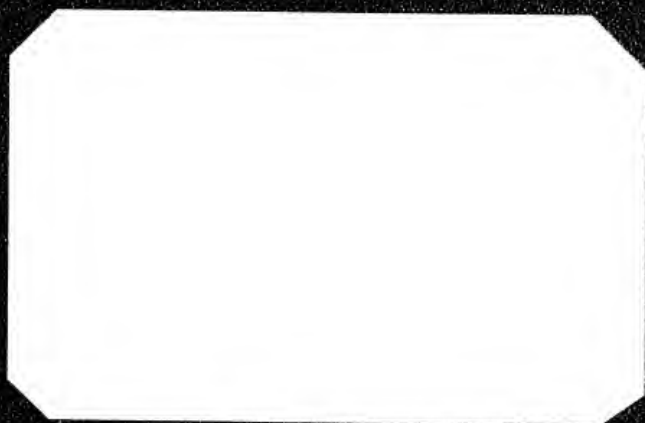


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Book D 77

The War of Slavery upon the Constitution.

ADDRESS

OF

CHARLES D. DRAKE,

ON THE

ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Delivered in the City of Saint Louis, Sept. 17, 1862.

Three-quarters of a century ago, that noble body of American statesmen and patriots, over which the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY presided, completed the formation of the Constitution of the United States, and presented it for adoption by the American people, as a form of Government and a bond of Union which they believed would endure through all future time. It was the first written Constitution ever adopted by any nation; and it has, in the world's judgment, stood, from that day to this, as the noblest monument ever reared by freemen to their own wisdom and patriotism. It has shed upon our country unnumbered blessings, and has afforded a light to other nations struggling into the exercise of self-government. Under its benign sway every expectation of its framers for the good of America and of humanity has been fully realized: and there is not a hope that a patriot could cherish for his country, which would not be more than fulfilled by its continued existence.

And yet, while there are those still living who lived at the day of its formation, the nation for which that Constitution was made is precipitated into a terrible struggle for its preservation from destruction by its own children! And it is while the land trembles beneath the tread of armed legions, and the air is rent with the roar

of battle for and against the Union it was designed to cement and perpetuate, that we meet to observe as patriots the recurring anniversary of the great step which our fathers took towards making the American Nation what it was and is yet capable of being, the glory of freedom and of the human race.

Under any other circumstances than such as now fill our beloved land with grief and dread it would be a work of love to trace the history of our Constitution, and endeavor to set forth the great principles which pervade its entire frame; but how could this be done, with the oppressed mind wandering every moment to the fiendish assault upon it now in progress, and swayed continually by alternate hopes and fears, as it follows the shifting scenes and changing tides of the war which is to end in its complete and final vindication or its destruction? It is impossible. The theme most prominent under such circumstances is, not the origin and principles of the Constitution, but the origin and principles of the war now waged against it. To that let us then direct our attention.

The American people have reached a point where an overpowering necessity is laid upon them to remove every film from their eyes, and

look with perfectly clear and steady vision at what is around and before them. I have a profound and painful impression, that notwithstanding all said and written and seen and heard during the last twenty months, there are multitudes everywhere, especially in the border slave States, who have no correct idea of what this war really means, or to what it directly tends. God help them, if this continues much longer.

Light—light upon the motives, aims, and ends of the South in the beginning and the prosecution of this war, is what the people want. You may hurl denouncing generalities at the rebellion forever, and do little good: the people require tangible particulars. You cannot feed a starving man on the fumes of a kitchen: he must have food, or die. Supernatural eloquence were but as fumes, if the public mind be not imbued with knowledge of the true character and actual intent of Southern treason. The popular heart answers truth with mighty throbs: it answers nothing else so. It may flutter for a while under a transient stimulus, but it is the tremor of weakness. Truth alone makes it strong. I dare not approach it with aught but truth; with that I dare seek its innermost recesses. I intend to speak the truth now. I will speak it here, in this city, face to face with that pestilent element of treachery and treason, which, last year, in the first months of the rebellion, bore so high a head, and which, yet unscathed, scowls through our streets by day, and, in nightly conclave of the Knights of the Golden Circle, schemes to build an EMPIRE OF SLAVERY over our country's grave!

Frequently as I have spoken of Slavery as connected with this rebellion, it is of that I shall now speak again. When Cato, ever after his visit to Carthage, ended his every speech with the well-known words, "*Præterea censeo Carthaginem esse delendam*," it was to impress continually upon Rome that her only safety was in the destruction of her great rival. When, in addressing the people in this crisis, I recur again and again to Slavery, it is because I believe nothing with a more unbidden and resistless conviction, than that Slavery was the one sole cause, and is now the single life-principle and the great sustaining power, of the rebellion; and that the safety of the country demands that the people know and never forget those truths.

So speaking, I refer not to Slavery as a system of domestic labor, nor to any of its ordinary moral, social, or economical aspects, nor to the wrongs, oppressions, sins, and barbarisms which have been laid to its charge. I am on higher ground than that. Passing by every other view of Slavery, I deal with it now only in its relations to the rebellion. It is of Slavery the "pec-

uliar institution," loved more than country by the South—of Slavery as the foundation and instrument of aggressive political power—of Slavery as the hot-bed of a "social aristocracy," alien in spirit to our free institutions—of Slavery speaking and acting through its perfidious votaries—of Slavery in its faithless abandonment of all honor, duty, and patriotism, for the sake of its own advancement—of Slavery plotting treason for thirty years—of Slavery false to country and therefore false to everything—of Slavery the secessionist, the rebel, the traitor, the parricide, the filibuster, the guerilla, the demon of destruction, that I speak, and, with God's help, will continue to speak; for I dare not smother down the burning convictions forced into my soul by this hell-born rebellion.

My friends, but the other day our country was tranquil, prosperous, and united; to-day, it writhes and quivers under the deadly blows of Slavery, the armed destroyer; blows causeless, and therefore most cruel; blows struck with all the power of unprovoked and savage malignity; blows aimed at the very life of a nation that had nourished slavery as a child; blows which, if successful, will batter down into a shapeless mass of ruins all that makes our country worthy of our love, or of the respect of mankind! It is the Samson of Slavery heaving at the pillars of the Constitution—the Lucifer of Slavery desolating the realm it cannot rule! Search the world's records and traditions for a parallel, and desist in despair; for never was there a crime approaching it in distant and feeble comparison. It comprehends every other, and overtops them all. American Slavery has made itself the Cain of the human race: some time its wail will be heard, "*Behold, thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the earth!*"

Can there be any lingering doubt that Slavery is the wanton aggressor in this mortal strife? Not for an instant, with him who looks and reads and thinks; not for an instant, with him who is open to the truth; not for an instant, with any but those who will not see; and many such there are, with whom all argument and appeal is vain. Not to such do I speak; but to those who hearing will heed, and heeding will embrace the truth, for its own and their country's sake. Of such there are tens of thousands, who love the Union with their whole hearts, but do not yet distinctly recognize the Union's enemy. They know that the Union is assailed, and they give their sons and their substance for its defense, but still do not fully see what assails it. They hear by day, and dream by night, of horrid war between opposing hosts, that yesterday were brothers, and ought to be brothers to-day, to-morrow, and always; but know not how all this

came about, or why it should be. Let them clear away the mists which becloud their vision, and see that SLAVERY, in the reckless ambition, the heartless selfishness, the fierce intolerance, the tyrannical will, and the piratical greed of its remorseless aristocracy, must alone bear the ignominy of this unmatched crime forever.

And yet there are those who deny this, and those that ignore it. Of the first class, besides the host of Slavery's devotees, and the attendant retinue of politicians, greedy for votes and office, each and all frowning upon or sneering at the idea of Slavery's responsibility in any way for our present calamities, I have observed, among men of note, so distinguished and venerable a man as AMOS KENDALL, in a letter to the President of the United States, denying that Slavery was the cause of the rebellion! In the second class are found newspapers, which, reserving their lightnings for the Abolitionists, the Black Republicans, and the Radicals, launch promiscuous thunder at the rebellion, but betray not the least consciousness that Slavery has anything on earth to do with it; and eloquent orators, who enthral admiring crowds with ornate discourse about every element and feature of the rebellion, save just that insignificant one of Slavery; and a numberless crowd of "weak brethren," instantly aghast at the slightest question of the virgin purity of the "peculiar institution;" all opposing, but vainly, the resistance of a dead silence to that mighty public opinion, which marches straight forward to burn into the brow of Slavery the eternal brand of the traitor and the parricide. Dare I confront such odds? Yes, and a thousand times more; for truth shuns no conflict, fears no foes; nor, armed with truth, do I. That I am so armed, it is now my duty to show. In doing so I must needs use some facts which I have before used in public. No matter; they do not grow old, nor will they ever lose their point.

In a commercial Convention of delegates from eight Southern States, held at Vicksburg, in May, 1860, Mr. SPERR, of South Carolina, in advocating resolutions in favor of re-opening the African slave-trade, used these words:

"It might be said that the slave-trade could not be legalized within the Union, and that to re-establish it the Union would have to be dissolved. Let it be so. THE MEN OF THE SOUTH HAVE HIGHER TRUSTS THAN TO PRESERVE THE UNION."

There was a day when such words would, even in Vicksburg, have called down a storm of indignation and reproach upon their utterer; but then and there they received the direct sanction of the body to which they were addressed, by its adoption of the resolutions referred to; thereby proclaiming defiance to the Constitution which prohibits that trade. Mr. SPERR was a represen-

tative there of that "social aristocracy," about which, less than a year later, he wrote a letter, that is probably the most vivid and truthful exposition of the spirit and aims of secession that exists. He spoke the simple, undisguised, and most execrable truth, as held by his class, when he said, "*the men of the South had higher trusts than to preserve the Union.*" He announced himself, in advance, a traitor in heart, as afterwards he became one in act. And it was for Slavery, and, far worse, for the renewal of that accursed traffic, against which the anthems of civilized nations are hurled, that he proclaimed his treason. He renounced the Constitution of his country, and defied the conscience of Christendom, for the sake of a return, in this enlightened age and land, to that diabolical piracy of human beings, upon which, more than seventy years before, the fathers of this nation had set the seal of irrevocable condemnation. This was one of the "higher trusts," which the men of the South held to be above the preservation of the Union!

If this fact stood alone, it would be the enigma of the age; but it ceases to excite our special wonder, when we see in it but the natural fruit of nearly thirty years' effort to enshrine Slavery in the Southern mind, not only as the unfailing spring of material prosperity, but as the normal condition of society, and as a blessing divinely ordained to perpetuation and diffusion, and worthy to be made "the chief stone in the corner" of a republican form of government emanating from Americans, in the latter half of the Nineteenth Century!

Fifteen years before, "men of the South" had declared that they preferred the annexation of Texas—a vast domain dedicated to, and desired by them for the spread of, Slavery—to the preservation of the Union. Five years later, they threatened the Union, unless Slavery were allowed unrestricted access to the Territories. Six years nearer the present time, they were ready for revolt, if the Republican candidate should be elected President. Four years still nearer, they did revolt, when another Republican candidate, through their own design and their own intrigue, was elected to that high office. Through all these periods of agitation and danger, the animating and sole incentive of Southern action was *the extension and perpetuation of Slavery*. Upon this, and for this alone, the idea and purpose of a Southern Confederacy were announced, not only to the people of the South, but in the halls of Congress. Hear some of the utterances of Southern aristocrats on this point.

Senator IVERSON, of Georgia, said in the Senate:

"There is but one path of safety for the South; but one mode of preserving her institution of

domestic Slavery; and that is a confederacy of States having no incongruous and opposing elements—a confederacy of *slave States* alone, with homogeneous language, laws, interests, and institutions. Under such a confederated Republic, with a Constitution which should shut out the approach and entrance of all incongruous and conflicting elements, which should *protect the institution from change, and keep the whole nation ever bound to its preservation, by an unchangeable fundamental law*, the fifteen slave States, with their *power of expansion*, would present to the world the most free, prosperous, and happy nation on the face of the wide earth."

Mr. Brooks, Representative in Congress from South Carolina, said:

"We have the issue upon us now; and how are we to meet it? I tell you, from the bottom of my heart, that the only mode which I can think available for meeting it is just to tear the Constitution of the United States, trample it under foot, and form a Southern Confederacy, every State of which shall be a *slaveholding State*."

The South Carolina Convention, in December, 1860, in an address to the people of the slaveholding States, urged them to secession in the following terms:

"CITIZENS OF THE SLAVEHOLDING STATES OF THE UNITED STATES: Circumstances beyond our control have placed us in the van of the great controversy between the Northern and Southern States. We would have preferred that other States should have assumed the position we now occupy. Independent ourselves, we disclaim any desire or design to lead the counsels of the other Southern States. Providence has cast our lot together, by extending over us an identity of purpose, interests and institutions. South Carolina desires no destiny separate from yours. To be one of a GREAT SLAVEHOLDING CONFEDERACY, stretching its arms over a territory larger than any power in Europe possesses—with a population four times greater than that of the whole United States when they achieved their independence of the British empire—with productions which make our existence more important to the world than that of any other people who inhabit it—with common institutions to defend and common dangers to encounter—we ask your sympathy and confederation. * * * United together, and we must be the most independent, as we are the most important, among the nations of the world. United together, and we require no other instrument to conquer peace than our beneficent productions. United together, and we must be a great, free and prosperous people, whose renown must spread throughout the civilized world and pass down, we trust, to the remotest ages. WE ASK YOU TO JOIN US IN FORMING A CONFEDERACY OF SLAVEHOLDING STATES."

In these three brief specimens you have the spirit which impelled the South into disunion. A volume of such treasonable and incendiary expressions might be compiled; but these are enough for this occasion. They teach too plainly for any one to doubt, that the glittering price of treason was a Confederacy living, moving, and having its being in Slavery; where, free from "incongruous and conflicting elements," the aristocrats of Slavery might mature and exe-

cute schemes of expansion and conquest, which should eclipse those of Cortez and Pizarro, and start Slavery forward in its anticipated career of universal dominion.

For, my friends, let no man deceive himself with the fancy, that a Southern Confederacy meant only a Confederacy of such slave States as could be wrenched from our Union. Men who had fiercely struggled in the Union, through long years, for the expansion of Slavery here, were not the men to abide its restriction to the limits of those States out of the Union. Nor did they profess any such intention. Emboldened by the near approach of the consummation of their wicked machinations, they declared that to confine Slavery to that area would destroy it, and daringly avowed the fixed purpose, at every hazard, to push it into adjacent regions, belonging to foreign nations in amity with the American Government and people. Secession, then, was not the exodus of the South from the presence of the Pharaoh of Abolitionism, but the beginning of a career of buccaneering subjugation, in which the pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night should lead on and on to the enslavement of contiguous non-slaveholding nations, for the extension, establishment, and perpetuation of African Slavery. Listen to some of their declarations of this audacious and infernal purpose.

Senator IVERSON said:

"In a confederated government of their own, the Southern States would enjoy sources of wealth, prosperity, and power, unsurpassed by any nation on earth. *No neutrality laws would restrain our enterprising sons*. Our expanding policy would stretch far beyond present limits. Central America would join her destiny to ours, and so would Cuba, now withheld from us by the voice and votes of Abolition enemies."

Senator BROWN, of Mississippi, said:

"I want Cuba; I want Tamaulipas, Potosi, and one or two other Mexican States; and I want them all for the same reason—for the *planting and spreading of SLAVERY*. And a footing in Central America will wonderfully aid us in acquiring those other States. Yes; I want those countries for the SPREAD of SLAVERY. I would spread the blessings of Slavery, like the religion of our Divine Master, to the uttermost ends of the earth. * * * Whether we can obtain the territory while the Union lasts, I do not know; I fear we cannot. But I would make an honest effort, and if we failed, I would go out of the Union, and try it there."

EX-GOV. CALL, of Florida, said:

"Slavery cannot be stopped in its career of usefulness to the whole world. It cannot be confined to its present limits. Dire and uncontrollable necessity will compel the master and the slave to cut their way through every barrier which may be thrown around it, or perish together in the attempt. * * * It may be in the Providence of God that the American Union, which has cheered the whole world with its promises, like the star which stood for a while over the cra-

dle of Bethlehem, may fall and lose its light forever. It may be in His dispensation of human events, that the great American family shall be divided into many nations. But divided or united, the path of destiny must lead the Anglo-Saxon race to the mastery of this whole continent. And if the whole column should not advance, this division of the race will, *with the institution of African Slavery, advance from the banks of the Rio Grande to the Vine under the sun*, establishing the way-marks of progress, the altars of the reformed religion, the temples of a higher civilization, a purer liberty, and a better system of human government."

And last, but very far from least, hear the words of JOHN S. PRESTON, secession Commissioner from South Carolina, addressed to the Virginia Convention, to induce that body to pass an ordinance of secession :

"Virginia will take her place in the front ranks. She will be as she has been for one hundred years, the foremost in the world in the cause of liberty. She will stand here with her uplifted arm, not only as a barrier, but the guiding star to an empire, *stretching from her feet to the tropics, from the Atlantic to the Pacific*—grander in proportions, stronger in power, freer in right, than any which has preceded it: which will divide the rule of the Atlantic, be felt in the far-heaving waves of the Pacific, and will own the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea."

My friends and countrymen, in this exposition, out of Southern mouths, of the *real* spirit, scope, and aim of secession, is the undoubted and authentic explanation of that memorable announcement by Southern leaders, in the winter of 1860-61, *that they would not remain in the Union, if a sheet of blank paper were given them, and they were allowed to write on it their own terms!* Those infamous conspirators had ulterior objects of unhallowed and base ambition, which they knew were unattainable in the Union, and they resolved, without hesitation or remorse, to immolate the Union, because it held them back. Not, then, for any wrongs received or feared, but for the sake of the grand destiny they had marked out for themselves and Slavery, all arrangement, all compromise, all conciliation, all relenting was renounced, that they might, over the ruins of the Constitution, carve their way with the sword to their dazzling goal. Can any one whose judgment is not wholly perverted, whose conscience is not thoroughly petrified, look upon such a picture, without recoiling as from an open view of the bottomless pit? What principle of honor, or morality, or common decency, vindicates such a scheme of wilful and measureless wrong? or rather, what principle of honor, morality, decency, religion, or law, is not trampled under foot by it? It smites the laws of the country into the dust, it outrages the Constitution, it degrades the American name, it affronts the public sentiment of the world, it violates all international law,

it spits upon the Bible, it spurns the teachings of Christ, it defies the throne of Eternal Justice; and all in the name of Slavery, and for the compulsory spread of Slavery over nations, which had long ago banished it from their borders, and devoted their domains to the inhabitation of free men, as they hoped and believed, throughout all generations! Had this been foretold thirty years ago, every man in the South would, like Ilaael, have exclaimed, "*What! is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?*" and yet they do it now, not only without compunction or shame, but with a claim of right, and with an insolent demand to be "let alone" in doing it! And more amazing still, it is done in the name of "a higher civilization, and a purer liberty;" as if higher civilization and negro bondage were inseparable, and Liberty and Slavery had become synonyms in the vocabulary of this day! And, that the picture may want no height of coloring or depth of shadow, they march to their hellish work over the outraged flag of their country, and the prostrate bodies of their brothers, murdered, by scores of thousands, as they rally in arms to defend their country against its own degenerate and piratical sons!

Think you this is all? Far, very far, from it. With their "Slave Republic" once established, and extended Southward to "the line under the sun," and with the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean Sea, and the mouth of the Mississippi under their control, will they rest there? Not for a day, except to gather strength for new forays for Slavery. "An empire, grander in proportions, stronger in power, freer in right than any which has preceded it," is the gorgeous prize, and will they not clutch at it? CONQUEST FOR SLAVERY! is their slogan: and how long will it be until, backed by nations bound to them through their cotton, and sympathizing with their aristocratic impulses and principles, they will turn *northward*, to subjugate the nation that failed when it might to subjugate them? My friends, call not this an idle apprehension—a groundless fear. *If this gigantic piracy be not exterminated now, it will, at no distant day after establishing itself, aim at "the mastery of this whole continent," and its consequent subjection to the dominion of Slavery!* Remember, Slavery is not fighting to repel attack, but for EXTENSION AND PERPETUITY: where will be its point of repose in the Western hemisphere? Just where, like Alexander, it can sit down and weep that there is no more to conquer. Say not that their aim is impossible. Great as America is, she is not equal to such a combination as the South might form, *and this day expects to form*, with European nations, through promised commercial advantages, and congeniality of hatred towards those free institutions, whose life de-

pends upon the fidelity, the bravery, and the endurance of her loyal people in this conflict. Awake to the terrible consciousness, that the success of this rebellion is death to America! Awake to the certainty, that unless a more mighty effort than has yet been put forth be made, there is danger of its success! Awake to the conviction that the nation must *give itself up* to this conflict, or despair of triumph! Awake to the stern reality, that this destroying assault by Slavery upon all that we hold dear must be repulsed, and the assailants defeated, scattered, subjugated, and, if need be, exterminated, or we become THE SLAVES OF SLAVERY!

My friends, it is a startling truth, that never since Sumter's fall has the nation fully risen to the height of the great occasion. Not only has it not seen in its true light the damnable spirit and purpose of the rebel aristocracy, underlying the whole surface of the rebellion, and scorning all patriotic and brotherly appeals, and yet carefully excluded from all their official pronouncements, in order to blind the world to their real intent and object; but it has borne a heavy weight of long-accustomed deference to Slavery, and been restrained by an honest, but as we now see, mistaken and unavailing, conservatism, toward that institution, which exhibits no conservatism except of itself, and brooks no radicalism but that itself employs to destroy the Union, and clear the way for its own lawless domination and expansion. And the nation has constantly underrated the military strength of the rebellion, and underestimated the aid afforded it by the three millions and a half of slaves that remain at home. We counted them a dead weight upon the South in this war; but they have so far proved its most buoyant and most effective support. And there has ever lurked through the public mind, especially in the border slave States, a notion that, some how or other, no one could tell how, this frightful conflict would pass away with "nobody hurt" much, and with Slavery restored to its old position in "the Union as it was." It is impossible to estimate the evil which this mischievous idea has wrought, in shaping the course of men to propitiate Slavery and its votaries. Politicians keep one eye half open for the country, and the other wide open for disloyal votes, when they shall again be available. Merchants balance between loyalty and trade, often holding the former at a discount. Lawyers watch for the fees of disloyal clients, and doctors for the calls of traitorous patients, more than for the honor of our flag. Preachers refuse either prayer or sermon for the Government, lest disloyal ears should be offended. Thousands hang back from avowed loyalty, to escape traitors' frowns; and thousands professing loyalty yield a grudging

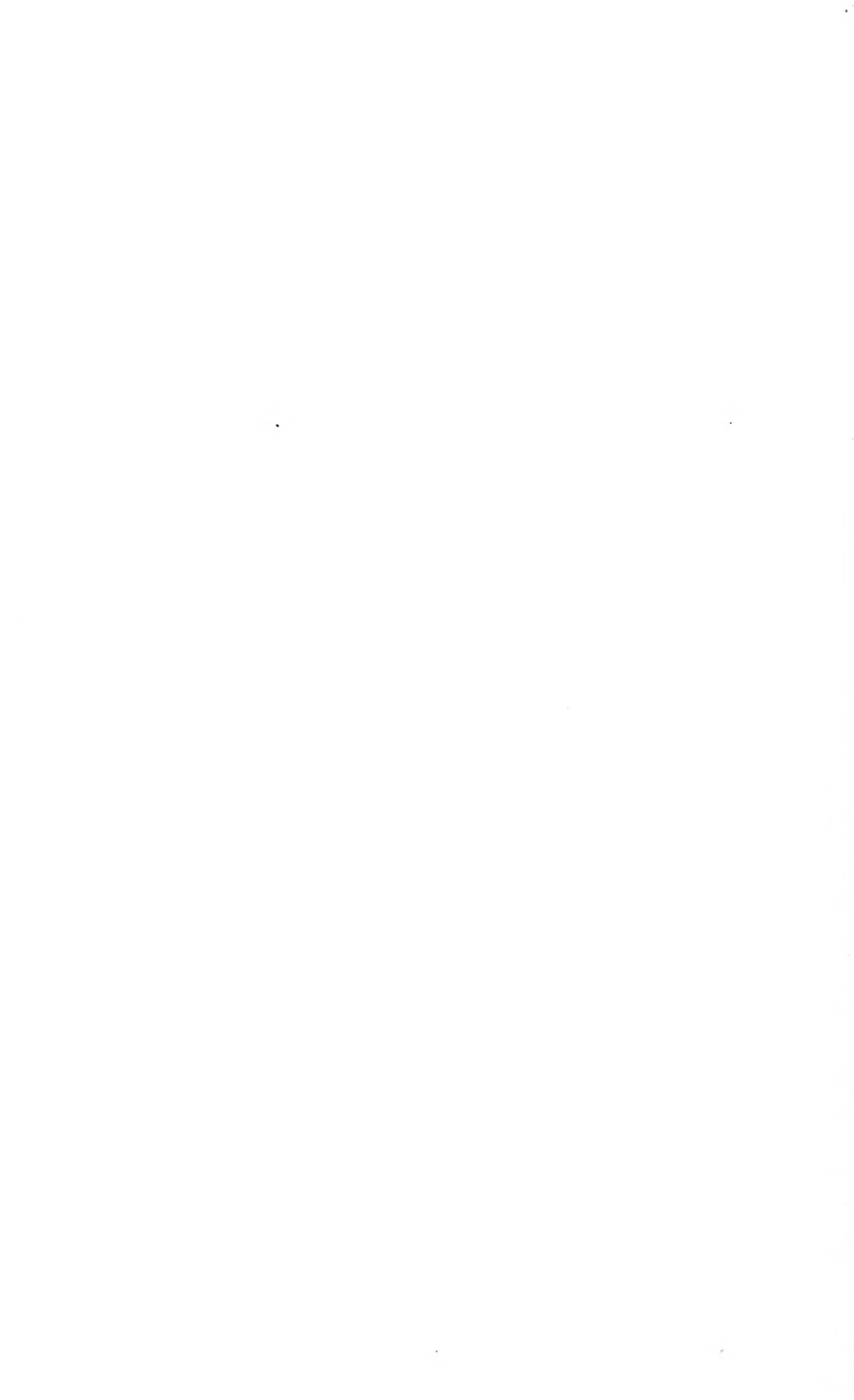
and feeble support to the Union in its peril, that they may commend themselves to the Union's enemies. All this, so disgraceful to the American character, so degrading to all true manhood, so false to every dictate of patriotism, and so injurious to the Government in this mortal struggle, has proceeded from the cherished belief that Slavery is to survive this war, and resume its former influence. It is time that this belief yield somewhat of its strength. It is time that every man should see that the nation will, in all human probability, be *driven*, by the inexorable law of self-preservation, *to destroy Slavery*.

In common with hundreds of thousands of loyal citizens, I have earnestly hoped that this conflict might stop short of that point; but hope has been well-nigh quenched within me by the growing conviction, in view of the facts I have laid before you, and of the extremity to which the South has waged this war, that Slavery or my country must perish. When that dread alternative shall be fully presented, God forbid that I should hesitate for one moment which to choose! My country must live, though Slavery die a thousand deaths. Tell me not that we war only for the Constitution and the Union. I know it well; but can they be saved now, and for all coming time, and save Slavery, their enemy, too? If not, let Slavery end its days here and now, whatever may follow. A war for the mere manumission of negroes—a war to obliterate Slavery as a mere domestic institution, the nation would not and should not wage; but against Slavery the rebel and traitor in arms I fear it must, if it would itself live. I almost despair of the nation's life, but by the death of Slavery. Time was, in the early period of the rebellion, when its suppression or abandonment might have left Slavery unshaken by its own horrible crime; but that time is hopelessly past. I see no day of adjustment, restoration, or conciliation in the future. Slavery proclaims that it conciliates only with the sword—adjusts only at the cannon's mouth. He who expects adjustment except by the unconditional submission of the South, knows little of the character and temper of the loyal portion of the nation. He who looks for a restoration of the territorial integrity of the Union otherwise than by subjugating the rebels, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, knows not what it is for an aristocracy to risk its all upon such a desperate venture as this. The first step in secession placed them beyond all hope, but in the complete establishment of their slave empire. They know this well. They have never asked restoration to the Union on any terms, and they would not accept it now, were it freely and cordially offered, with unrestricted amnesty to all. They hate the Union, because it is not "homogeneous;"

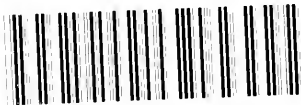
that is, not all under the sway of Slavery. They loathe the "pure democracy" of the North, because it is uncongenial to their "social aristocracy," and because they hold that there "the reins of government come from the *heels* of society," as they term the free white laborer. Ten thousand times they have declared that they never will unite with the North again, and it is certain that they are in earnest. Away, then, with idle talk about conciliation and adjustment! Let the nation brace itself up to fight this war through to the perfect and absolute res-

toration of the authority of the Constitution, or give up the contest at once, and resign itself to perpetual disgrace. If to accomplish the former it is necessary to strike down Slavery, as well as its armies, the world will commend the act; and the voice of our own loyal people will burst forth in the midst of their mourning for sons and brothers dead in battle, with the unhesitating and firm response, "LET IT BE SO! THE MEN OF THE NORTH HAVE HIGHER TRUSTS THAN TO PRESERVE SLAVERY!"





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